The Mennonite Quarterly Review

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EDITORIAL

The Question Has Often Been Raised Whether Humanism Had A significant influence upon the origin and early development of the Anabaptist movement. Some scholars, particularly Dutch students of early Anabaptist history, have felt sure that this was the case. They have even gone so far as to claim the greatest of all humanists, Erasmus, as the spiritual father of Anabaptism. One of the ways to test this theory is to examine the personal history of Conrad Grebel, the founder of Swiss Anabaptism, who was for most of his student life a humanist. The first two instalments of the study of Grebel's life which appeared in the January and April numbers of the Review furnish the groundwork for the analysis of Grebel's humanism which appears as the third instalment in the current number. The author shows on the basis of the available evidence that Grebel's religious thinking was not appreciably affected, at least not directly, by his humanist years, but that he rather drew his inspiration from Ulrich Zwingli and the Bible. The conclusion is inevitable that humanism had very little to do with the origin of Swiss Anabaptism, for if it did not have this connection through Conrad Grebel, it could scarcely have had it through any other source. The relation of humanism to Dutch Anabaptism is another question, although it is difficult to believe that men like Menno Simons, or Dietrich Philips, the two great early leaders of the Dutch Anabaptist movement, were appreciably affected by humanism.

John C. Wenger Continues his Studies in Early Pennsylvania Mennonite documents by giving a thorough report of the Alms Book of the Franconia Mennonite Church, a record which goes back at least as far as the year 1767. This interesting account parallels the account of the slightly older Skippack Alms Book which appeared in the April issue of the Review. Mr. Wenger has completed his manuscript on the history of the Mennonite Church of the Franconia Conference, and expects to publish the book during the coming winter.

Readers of the Review will be Interested to Know that at last a Mennonite Historical Society has been organized in Germany, the homeland of many ancient Mennonite congregations, where much rich material on the history of the Anabaptist-Mennonite movement remains to be published. This society, known as "Der Mennonitische Geschichtsverein", with Dr. Christian Neff of Weierhof as president, and Christian Hege of Frankfurt A. M., as secretary, both men being editors of the excellent *Mennonitisches Lexikon*, held its first annual meeting in Gronau in Westphalia, Germany, June 27 of this year. The Review is fortunate to be able to publish one of the two addresses delivered at that meeting, an address by Prof. B. H. Unruh of Karlsruhe, Germany, on the Dutch backgrounds of the early Mennonite migrations to Eastern Prussia. Prof. Unruh is preparing a history of the Mennonites of Russia since the World War, and has made careful studies in the Dutch-Prussian backgrounds of the Russian Mennonites. His paper is one of the fruits of this preliminary study, and although it does not profess to give the final word on this somewhat difficult subject, yet constitutes a valuable contribution.

Dr. Ernst Correll of our Editorial Staff Reports Some Interesting data concerning Mennonite periodicals in eastern Europe from a recent German doctoral dissertation on German language periodicals outside of Germany. It is expected that further contributions and notes will follow in future issues under the rubric "Research Notes".

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JULY 1936

CONRAD GREBEL, THE FIRST LEADER OF THE SWISS BRETHREN (Anabaptists)
III.

The Humanism of Conrad Grebel[1]

HAROLD S. BENDER

Conrad Grebel was a humanist for eight years, eight years which constituted one of the chief periods of his life. They were the years of his youth, the formative years from fifteen to twenty-three. Of this period, the first half year was spent in Basel with Glarean, three years were spent in Vienna with Vadian, two years were the years of storm and stress in Paris—spent in part under Glarean's influence, while the last two years, except for two months in Basel, were spent in Zurich and brought Grebel into association with Zwingli. But in all these years, whether in Basel, Vienna, Paris, or Zurich, Grebel was constantly among humanists, and his development in these significant years was under the star of the declining renaissance. It is therefore of importance to know of the meaning of this humanistic influence in the formation of his personality and his thinking.

The successive portions of Grebel's humanistic period were not of equal importance for his inner development. The most important

1. See the valuable article, "Conrad Grebel as a Humanist," by Edward Yoder in *MQR.* III, 132-146 (April, 1929).

periods were the second and the fourth, the three years in Vienna and the two years at the end under Zwingli's influence. The first period in Basel was too short and Grebel was too young, for any decisive influence upon him. What Grebel received in Basel from Glarean was a thorough discipline in the Latin language, for Glarean was without doubt the best teacher among the humanists of Switzerland, if not among all the German humanists. In addition he was one of the best Latin poets of his time.

The twenty months which Grebel spent in Paris were likewise of slight importance for his inner development so far as humanism was concerned. His life there was much too disturbed by frequent changes in residence and in teachers to permit a consistent and steady influence to operate upon him. With Glarean he lived not more than five months, possibly not more than two, and the lectures of Nicholas Beroaldus he could not have heard longer than four months. Faber Stapulensis he probably never heard, and if at all, for not more than one semester, for after the autumn of 1519 Faber was no longer in Paris. Budaeus could not have been an influence in his life, for his contacts with him were certainly few; Budaeus was not a professor at the University and spent most of his time at his country place at Marly. Perhaps the most important thing that Grebel secured in Paris was a more thorough knowledge of the Greek language and literature. Beroaldus was an excellent Greek teacher and without doubt Grebel profited from his instruction; the enthusiasm for the Greek language and literature which Grebel manifested in Zurich after his return from Paris was quite probably due to contact with him.

But what really made Grebel's study in Paris in the larger sense unfruitful for him was not so much the change in teachers and residence as it was the inner and outer conflicts into which he was plunged during the twenty months of his stay there. It is true that these conflicts had a deep significance for his inner spiritual development, as has been pointed out earlier, but so far as study and intellectual development were concerned, the storm and stress of the Paris years had only unfortunate consequences. Intellectually Grebel stood still; a really vital influence from French humanism upon him was inhibited by the circumstances of his life.

In the early years in Vienna, 1515-1518, on the contrary, Grebel lived a happy, carefree, productive life. For three long years he was able to study without interruption and to devote himself to the humanistic arts; these years were therefore most fruitful in his intellectual development. Among the influences which determined the

course of Grebel's development in Vienna Vadian was certainly the chief contributing factor. Grebel himself testifies to this. After he had returned to Zurich from Paris at the conclusion of his student years, as he looked back over his life, he wrote at one time to Vadian: "I confess that I owe more to you than to any other man, and I bring you the greatest appreciation and thanks that it is possible for me to bring."[2] Vadian was Grebel's hero; for Grebel Vienna meant Vadian. Of all the possible other figures of the humanist world in Vienna whom Grebel might have remembered, only Wolfgang Hailigmaier's name is mentioned in his later correspondence, and he was not one of the great men of Vienna.

It is evident then that of the numerous figures of the men of learning and scholarship among the humanists of Basel, Vienna, and Paris, Vadian was the only one who exerted a dominant influence upon the development of the young Grebel. Among the others of Grebel's acquaintance, only Glarean counted, and his influence was more on the formal side of learning than on inner spiritual growth. Zwingli occupies a peculiar place in Grebel's development, since his influence was effective only at the end of Grebel's period of growth and then primarily effective in the field of religion. With the greatest personalities of northern humanism Grebel scarcely came into contact. Men like Erasmus, Budaeus, Faber Stapulensis, Beatus Rhenanus, moved on the horizon of his life; they were not in the inner circle of his friends. Even the writings of these great humanists seemed to have had little place in Grebel's development, at least in so far as the evidence of the meagre sources permits a conclusion. Only Erasmus appears in the list of humanist writers whom he read, and the writings referred to by Grebel are not the great productions of that noted scholar but rather some of the shorter pamphlets of minor significance, a few ephemeral polemic booklets. If Grebel read Erasmus in a larger sense, no evidence of such influence has been preserved in the extant sources. Grebel did develop a warm and intimate friendship with one of the Swiss humanists, namely with Oswald Myconius. But his relations with Myconius were exclusively epistolary except for the two brief months in the summer of 1518 when he had the privilege of personal fellowship with him in Zurich. When Myconius returned to Zurich in 1524 after a number of years' absence in Lucerne, the possibility of an intimate friendship between the two men had been destroyed by the developing religious conflict between Grebel and Zwingli.

Since Grebel's teachers and friends were chiefly Vadian, Zwing-

2. Grebel to Vadian, July 17, 1520. *Vad.BrS.* II, 293.

mon man, religious indifferentism . . . all are equally foreign to him."[5] Budaeus' chief interest lay in the use of the historico-critical method, and in practical matters such as ancient coinage. One of his chief ambitions in life was to demonstrate to the world as a patriotic Frenchman that French learning was capable of competing with the learning of the Italian humanists. His chief writings dealt with ancient Roman law and coinage. In a similar fashion Vadian's chief work was a commentary on the geographical treatise of Pomponius Mela, an ancient Roman geographer. And Glarean's chief literary productions were philological text books and musical treatises. Neither of the men ever wrote anything remotely approaching "The Praise of Folly" or "The Handbook of the Christian Soldier." The French patriotism of a Budaeus was matched and exceeded by the Swiss patriotism of a Vadian and Glarean. When such men were away from home in foreign lands they thought of themselves as exiled Swiss scholars temporarily living abroad, not at all as international cosmopolites. One of their chief aims was the development of young Swiss scholars, even though they taught them far from home in Vienna and Paris, scholars who would prepare for a greater and more glorious future for the fatherland, a future in learning and scholarship to be sure. This same spirit of patriotism which animated Grebel's teachers and friends manifested itself in his own thinking and expression, as is indicated several times in his letters from Vienna and Paris.

In order to complete the characterization of the humanism which Grebel assimilated, the character and personality of the men who were his close associates must be briefly indicated. With the possible exception of Glarean, they were all men of solid character, moral earnestness, clean living, and strong personality. Indeed men like Vadian, Zwingli, and Myconius may well be characterized as men of high moral character. In them was nothing of the character of an Ulrich von Hutten, or a Mutianus Rufus. They were worthy tutors of the Swiss youth of their time.

Conrad Grebel, as we know him from the letters of his humanist years, and as we learn to know him in the judgment of his teachers, comrades, and friends, bears the stamp of these men and the type of humanism which they represent. Repeatedly he is characterized by such men as Vadian, Myconius, Clivanus, Ammann, Ursinus, Hinwiler and Zwingli as a youth of exceptional intellectual talent and candid, congenial character. Only Glarean's voice fails to fit into this chorus of favorable judgment, but it is clear that his

5. Ernst Walser, "Ueber das Wesen der französischen Renaissance" in *Gesammelte Studien zur Geistesgeschichte der Renaissance,* Basel, 1932, p. 87, translated.

attitude was colored by the personal conflict between the two men. It is noticeable that when Grebel entered a new circle of friends he was at once recognized as an outstanding character, as was the case in Vienna with Vadian and in Zurich with Zwingli. If in spite of this favorable judgment of his talents and personality, Conrad Grebel was not able to fulfil the promise of his early years and his attractive personality, the cause for the failure is to be sought rather in a personality weakness than in a moral or intellectual deficiency. His failure was a failure of self-discipline; he never learned to hold himself to a systematic and thorough plan of procedure in his studies. It is true, to be sure, that he also wanted to drink the cup of life deep and to learn to know life through his own free experience, as was the mode among the humanists, and as is testified in his letters. But a dissolute, profligate and depraved life he did not live, in spite of the representations to this effect by most of the church historians of the nineteenth century who have attempted to characterize him. On the rare occasions on which he spoke of moral transgressions in his confidential letters to Vadian and Myconius, he did so with a deep sense of reluctance and shame. He always retained a healthy ethical feeling, as is indicated in his reaction toward the whole question of foreign pensions during his stay in Paris.

There are other evidences that the humanism which Grebel espoused reflected the humanism of his teachers. For instance the geographical, scientific, and philological interests of his teachers led to similar interests in Grebel, and these interests are reflected in his letters and in his activities after he returned to Zurich from the universities. Also, the same Swiss patriotism which animated Vadian and Glarean likewise stirred the heart of Grebel. He too looked forward to participation in a more glorious future for his fatherland and trusted that the flowering of the new humanistic learning would contribute to that glory. He had harsh words for those who sought to sully the name and fame of Helvetia.

Finally, in religious attitudes, Grebel also reflects the neutral humanist type of Vadian and Glarean. He is far removed from the paganism of the Italian humanists, although his letters frequently carry classical and mythological expressions. He often speaks of "gods and goddesses" (twenty-six times), of "fate" (sixteen times), of the "Dirae" and "Fatae" (eight times), but these expressions are quite manifestly used in a purely formal sense or as symbols, not in any way as a vital expression of his inner life. Grebel's religion was quite certainly of the traditional sort, but yet it was a religion for him. In the later letters of his humanist years he changed some

of his expressions in referring to deity; for instance, he substituted the name "deus optimus maximus" for the formula "dei et deae" which had been the common term for deity in his earlier letters. This is particularly the case after he had come under Zwingli's influence. There are other evidences of his religious thinking. Twice he mentions prayer and indicates that he believes in the efficacy of prayer. He speaks of a divine power as a power which comes to the aid of human beings in time of need, as for instance in times of sickness and tribulation. Since the cast of his mind in the latter years was somewhat sombre and melancholy because he suffered considerably under his afflictions, he frequently refers to death. Men of Grebel's time were naturally compelled to think about death because of the frequently recurring plagues. In death Grebel sees a release from tribulation. He indicates a belief that in the future world men will be rewarded by a merciful God in accord with their earthly deeds. In this connection it is very interesting to notice the consolation with which he comforts his brother-in-law Vadian on the occasion of the death of his brother Melchior, in which he finally produces a sort of "Weltanschauungspredigt." Vadian is to bear the blow "philosophically" for: we humans can not change anything anyway; the brother would have had to die sometime; he was born to die; he died young and unspoiled; he has gone to that place where all human beings must ultimately go; Vadian's loss is not eternal; it was best according to the decree of God that it should be so; "see that you conduct yourself as a Christian."[6] This "philosophy" was written shortly before Grebel's conversion, December 29, 1521, so the attitude which it presents may not be characteristic of his humanistic thinking alone. Once Grebel refers superficially to the possibility of entering monastic life as a way of escape from his troubles.

However in spite of the evidence produced above that Grebel had a traditional religious attitude toward life, it must be said that he actually mentions religious matters very seldom in his letters. Religion certainly played no vital part in his thinking. On the other hand what Grebel did not say about religion is perhaps just as important as what he did say. In his letters there is not the slightest trace of the perverted rationalistic skepticism and cynicism which was so characteristic of the southern humanists with their mocking and scoffing at the traditional religion of the people.

Grebel's return to Zurich in July, 1520, marked the beginning of a new epoch in his life, for in Zurich Ulrich Zwingli had set in motion new spiritual forces that were to make out of Conrad Grebel a new person. The return to Zurich was thus more than a home-

6. Grebel to Vadian, Dec. 29, 1521, *Vad.BrS.* II, 410.

coming of a student from foreign sojourn; it was an entrance into an altogether different sphere of living. In Zurich in the person of Ulrich Zwingli Grebel found for the first time a man who merited full recognition as a scholar and a humanist, and who at the same time held a positive Christian position. In Ulrich Zwingli two streams of influence were united for Conrad Grebel, classical antiquity and Bible Christianity. In this narrower sense of Christian humanism Zwingli was in reality an Erasmian, an Erasmian who was not bound to Erasmus solely by common scholarly interests with a common program for the revival of the study of antiquity and the liberal arts, but was his friend as one who esteemed Erasmus as the leader of a Christian renaissance, the promoter of reform in the church and a co-laborer in the gospel. If Grebel was ever influenced at all by Erasmian humanism it was through the channel of Ulrich Zwingli in his contact with him after July, 1520. But when Grebel came into contact with him Zwingli was already far beyond Erasmus in his thinking, so far indeed that it was not long until he broke with Erasmus. Nevertheless it is worth while remembering in this connection that as late as 1521 Zwingli had invited Erasmus to settle permanently in Zurich.

Just how much of Erasmus Grebel may have received through Zwingli is difficult if not impossible to say, for much of the Erasmian spirit was in the air, and it is very difficult to infer a direct influence from Erasmus through Zwingli on Grebel for any particular point. Possibly Grebel's interest in the writings of the church fathers, which is indicated in several letters to Vadian in the latter part of 1521 may be attributed to this source. Possibly also something of the pacifism of Erasmus may have influenced Grebel in a round-about way through the pacifism of Zwingli and his group. However, this is more than dubious as will be pointed out later in the discussion of Grebel's theology, for there is after all a wide gap between the absolute denunciation of the taking of life and the use of force which Grebel advocated in the year 1524 and the more or less humanitarian opposition to war which Erasmus manifested even though with a religious coloring. And Erasmus did not reject all defensive war, in spite of his strong words against the war system.

Perhaps the most important question in considering the possible influence of an Erasmian type of humanism upon Conrad Grebel, is the question whether the Erasmian conception of Christianity as primarily an ethical culture based upon simple, universal religious ideas, was taken over by Grebel and through him by early Anabaptism. The issue has sometimes been stated in terms of a religion of the Sermon on the Mount over against a religion of dogmatic theol-

ogy. Certain superficial likenesses between Grebel's emphasis on genuine conversion and holy living in practical applications to life of individual and society, (an emphasis characteristic of Anabaptism as a whole) and Erasmian moralistic Christianity has misled some to the erroneous conclusion that Conrad Grebel and his friends were Erasmians. If this similarity indicated a fundamental likeness, if it meant that Grebel had derived some of his fundamental ideas from Erasmus, it must have come primarily through the mediation of Ulrich Zwingli. But if this were true, then Zwingli himself would have had to be an Erasmian at this time (which has not been demonstrated), and one would be exceedingly hard put to it to explain how Zwingli shed his Erasmianism, while Grebel, who was under his influence at the time, retained it. But there are other good reasons why the thesis of Erasmian influence upon Grebel cannot be held. It will be made clear in the chapter on Grebel's theology that Grebel's conception of Christianity was not that which Erasmus held, namely an undogmatic, simple, practical, religious morality based upon ethical preaching, the reading of the Bible and the church fathers, and the elevation of the general level of culture by the work of the scholars. It is not even correct to say that Grebel's religion was primarily the religion of the Sermon on the Mount. A free, individualistic, mystical, religious moralism of undogmatic type may have characterized Hans Denk, but it was foreign to Conrad Grebel. At the center of Grebel's thinking stood the Word of God with its absolute authority, the grace of God with its forgiving mercy, and the Spirit of God with its divine power through the faith of the believer to sanctify the life of the believer; and as a second central thought the holy body of believers, the church of Christ, made possible by the individual's experience, bound to the Word of God, the Bible, and commissioned to proclaim the gospel in the world as a "suffering church," (*Leidensgemeinde*). How different such a Christianity was from the Christianity of Erasmus. Could this have been a humanistic religion, derived out of Grebel's humanistic period, or was it perhaps rather a deepening and purifying of the religion of Ulrich Zwingli as Grebel had learned to know it in the years 1520 to 1523, a religion which was won in the earnest struggle for a sound faith during the controversy with Zwingli 1523-1525. Perhaps what Grebel received from Zwingli, the humanist, and from the whole body of Erasmian humanism, was more than anything else that conception of the source of true religion which pointed him away from the traditional church and society of his day, away from all human thinking, to the true source in the holy scriptures of the Bible, the Word of God.

THE ALMS BOOK OF THE FRANCONIA MENNONITE CHURCH, 1767–1936

John C. Wenger

The early history of the Mennonite congregation of Franconia township, Montgomery county, Pennsylvania, is very obscure. The first known mention of the congregation is in the will of one Christian Moyer, dated January 18, 1748. He bequeathed "two pounds for the use of the poor belonging to the Mennonite Meetings of Salford and Franconia Townships and County of Philadelphia."[1] Salford had been organized in 1738 and it is altogether probable that Franconia was but an outpost of the Salford congregation for a number of years.

Today the senior deacon[2] of the Franconia congregation has in his possession a large book in which financial matters have been recorded for the last one hundred eighty years. The book has stiff covers, (now covered with heavy paper), and measures about eight and one-fourth inches, by twelve and five-eighths inches by one and a half inches.

The pages are marked for receipts and disbursements in pounds, shillings and pence. The first page on which writing occurs has the following audit:

> 1767 am[3] 25t[4] December hat Christian Meyer sein Rechnung gethan vom Jahr 1765 am[3] 15t Julius in welcher Rechnung ist be grüfen worden was in gemelter zeit ein gebracht worden und wass auss geben worden so woll an gelt als an frucht und bleibt Christian Meyer schultig oder nächt Künftige Richnung ein zu bringen als folget erstlich an gelt . . . 55-10-8 an weitzen 2 buschel gethan auf Jahr und tag wie oben gemelt in bey seinn von unss unter schrübene
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> Sammuel bächtel
> Jacob funk
> Michael Dirstein

Similar audits have been made every year or two since that time. Each audit is followed by a number of signatures. In most cases the signers are known to have been preachers or deacons. The audits were for many years simply interspersed among a mass of

1 Samuel R. Swartley in *The Perkiomen Region*, Vol. VIII, No. 3 & 4, p. 69.

2 Irwin C. Kulp, Elroy, Pa.

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financial notes of receipts and disbursements. But in later years only the audits are recorded. And for the last twenty-five years the audits are held annually. The writing is in German script until 1924, since that time the audits are in the English language.

At the present time most of the established congregations in the Franconia Conference have their own ministers and deacons. But apparently ministers were not so specifically assigned to one particular congregation a century and a half ago. Rather there appears to have been a number of ministers ordained for each bishop district,[5] each perhaps having his "home" congregation but not quite in the sense in which ministers are now chosen as pastors. The place of burial is probably one clue as to what was considered the "home" congregation of an official. At any rate the preachers and deacons from a number (as many as five) of congregations have signed the audits of the Franconia Alms book.

Today the Franconia Conference comprises three bishop districts. Until the death of Bishop Andrew S. Mack in 1917 there were four; and prior to 1847 there were probably five bishop districts. Of these the largest is the one in which Bishops Mininger, Clemmer and Ruth are now serving. With the erection of the Souderton meetinghouse in 1879 a seventh congregation was added to this largest district of the conference. Already in Christian Funk's day (1776) this district consisted of the "sechs Gemeinden."[6] Of these Franconia probably was the only one which suffered appreciably by the Funkite schism of 1778. The Franconia congregation erected its first meetinghouse, (distinct from the school-building) in 1833. And even in the middle of the last century the Franconia Congregation numbered less than a hundred.[6a] Today there are 725 communicant members.

It should be mentioned that the Franconia book is older than the date of the first audit. For a number of years the deacon loaned out money to those in need. Under date of January 19, 1756 one Jacob Rohr signed a notation acknowledging that he had received the sum of twenty-two pounds. On June 3 of the same year he borrowed eighteen more pounds.

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[5] Cf. the ministerial lists in the 1773 Letter, in the Mennonite Quarterly Review, vol. III, No. 4, pp. 232 ff. Note how various ministers supplied the several congregations in the days of the Revolutionary War. Christian Funk: *Spiegel für alle Menschen,* Reading, Pa. 1813, pp. 16f., 49 etc. The circuit-system has been retained in parts of the Franconia Conference until the present.

[6] Christian Funk: *ibid.* p. 19 (The churches are Salford, Franconia, Rockhill, Plain, Line Lexington and Towamencin).

[6a] Henry S. Landes: *History of Souderton.* Reprinted from the *Souderton* (Pa.) *Independent,* 1930, p. 44 quotes an aged Mary Yoder as reporting that 71 members took part in a communion service which she attended about 1850.

The following list of signers represent the preachers and deacons who were present at the several audits. Since about 1850 only Franconia men signed the audit.[7] After each man's name will be found the first and last years in which he signed, and in parentheses, the total number of times he signed.

1.	Christian Funk[8]	1767-1778	(8)
2.	Samuel Bechtel[9]	1767-1796	(9)
3.	Jacob Funk[10]	1767-1773	(5)
4.	Michael Dirstein[11]	1767-1772	(4)
5.	Jacob Clemens	1769	(1)
6.	Henrich Sauter	1769	(1)
7.	Abraham Gehman[12]	1770-1789	(9)
8.	Johannes Jansen	1770	(1)
9.	Henrich Rosenberger[13]	1770-1779	(7)
10.	Jacob Oberholtzer[14]	1775-1811	(16)
11.	Abraham Landes	1778	(1)
12.	Johannes Weyerman[15]	1779, 1784	(2)
13.	Johannes Birki[16]	1779-1799	(9)
14.	Johannes Berge[16]	1801-1848	(12)

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7 I here refer to the Franconia congregation. The word Franconia is rather confusing. The Franconia congregation of the Franconia Mennonite Conference is located in Franconia township near the village of Franconia!

8 A prominent bishop, 1731-1811; ordained preacher in 1756 or 1757 and bishop in 1769. He and some followers were excommunicated in 1778 for advocating the payment of war taxes to the colonial government. He is buried in Delp's burying-ground.

9 ?—1802; buried at Rockhill. It is claimed that he had preached at the Saucon church before moving to the present Landis Brothers' farm near the Rockhill meetinghouse in 1764.

10 1730-1816. He moved to Cheltenham township in 1774 and connected himself with the Germantown congregation. He was a preacher.

11 1712-1777; a deacon at Rockhill. He came to America in 1732 and many of his descendents are Mennonites at the Rockhill congregation (and elsewhere) today.

12 A preacher (?-1792) who served Rockhill, Franconia, etc. (See note on Jacob Oberholtzer.) Buried at Rockhill.

13 Christian Funk in his *Spiegel* p. 49, calls Rosenberger (1725-1809) deacon of the Indian Field (Franconia) meeting.

14 ?—1813; The 1776 *Saur* Bible which is still on the pulpit at Franconia has the following note above Genesis 1:1: "Diesse Biblia oder Heilige Schrift Gehört zu der Menonisten Gemeinde in Francony Taunschip in Montgomery County wo Jacob Oberholzer u Abraham Gehman Dienen." Oberholtzer and Rosenberger played a prominent role in the controversy with Christian Funk.

15 According to tradition Weierman was a deacon at the Plain congregation. Funk refers to him, *Spiegel*, p. 53.

16 John Bergey (1759-1841) served Franconia as a minister until 1824. He is buried there. John Bergey (1783-1865) was a preacher at Salford, where he is buried. Just how to distinguish these men in the alms book is not clear. See David Hendricks Bergey, M. D.: *Genealogy of the Bergey Family*, New York, 1925, pp. 20 and 25.

15.	Mark Fretz[17]	1784, 1785	(2)
16.	Isaac Dirstine[18]	1784	(1)
17.	Christian Schwartz	1784-1787	(3)
18.	Christian Halteman[19]	1791	(1)
19.	David Ruth[20]	1796-1807	(3)
20.	Samuel Gehman[21]	1799-1811	(5)
21.	Jacob Kolb[22]	1801-1813	(5)
22.	Henrich Kolb[23]	1801; 1842; '44, '45, '46.	
23.	Jacob Gottschall[24]	1805-1841	(23)
24.	Jacob Fried[25]	1808-1811	(3)
25.	Joseph Friedt	1811	(1)
26.	Johannes Benner	1814	(1)
27.	Philip Neiss	1814	(1)
28.	Abraham Neiss[26]	1815, 1850, 1881	
29.	Johannes Fried	1814, 1830	(2)
30.	Johannes Leterach[27]	1822-1827	(3)
			(or Lederach)
31.	Abraham Fried	1834-1841	(4)
32.	Henrich Neiss[28]	1841-1881	(26)

17 1750-1840, a deacon at the Line Lexington meeting. Funk also mentions him, *Spiegel,* p. 50.

18 A deacon at Rockhill. There were two Isaac Derstines at Rockhill. At least one of them was a deacon. Deacon Michael's son lived 1744-1799. The other Isaac lived 1774-1821. Obviously the latter could not have signed the Alms Book in 1784. Yet a deed to some Church land in 1814 speaks of (Preacher) George Derstine and Isaac Dirstine as "elders and trustees". My opinion is that Michael Derstine was succeeded as deacon by his son Isaac (1744-1799) and that Isaac Derstine (1774-1821) was a trustee. But then who succeeded Isaac Derstine? The next known deacon is John F. Detweiler, born in 1786. Possibly both Isaacs were deacons?

19 1744-1833. A preacher at the Salford congregation (The Salford pulpit still has a 1743 Saur Bible upon it.)

20 ?—1820; a bishop. He resided in Hatfield township, Montgomery County (in which township the Plain meetinghouse stands) until 1801 when he moved to New Britain township, Bucks County. Funk frequently refers to him in his *Spiegel.*

21 1767-1845; he lived on the present Landis Brothers' farm, and succeeded his father as preacher at the Rockhill meeting in 1798. He was married to Preacher George Derstine's daughter Maria.

22 There was a deacon Jacob Kolb at the Salford meeting, according to Preacher Henry M. Clemmer.

23 Was there a Preacher Henry Kolb at Salford? See John F. Funk: *The Mennonite Church and Her Accusers,* Elkhart, Indiana, 1878, p. 97; also Jacob A. Freed: *Partial History of the Freed Family and Connecting Families,* Souderton, Pa. 1923, p. 33. Henry M. Clemmer says there never was a Preacher Henry Kolb at Salford.

24 1769-1845; a prominent bishop, and a school teacher. He was ordained to the ministry at Franconia in 1804, and as bishop in 1813.

25 1768-1847; ordained deacon at Franconia in 1810.

26 Probably lay members.

27 1775-1848; a deacon at the Salford meeting. He is referred to in the Alms Book as a treasurer in 1841 and 1848.

28 Henry Nice (1804-1883) was a prominent preacher of the Franconia meeting. He

33.	Johannes Kropp[29]	1841	(1)
34.	Jacob Kulp[30]	1848	(1)
35.	Johannes Geil[31]	1848, 1850	(2)
36.	Jacob Detweiler[32]	1850	(1)

(Note: From this point to the end of the list all the signers are officials in the Franconia meeting. The Alms book has now become a congregational book.)

37.	Jacob P. Landes[33]	1851-1874	(10)
38.	Josia Clemmer[34]	1863-1905	(17)
39.	Henrich Hakman[35]	1866-1868	(3)
40.	Abraham Clemmer[36]	1869	(1)
41.	Henrich Musselman[37]	1876-1881	(3)
42.	Michael R. Moyer[38]	1884-1911	(14)
43.	Jacob A. Fried[39]	1886-1927	(17)
44.	Abraham G. Clemmer[40]	1905-	
45.	Abraham Z. Derstine[41]	1912-	
46.	Abraham D. Clemmer[42]	1914-1917	(3)
47.	Hiram D. Clemmer[43]	1915-1933	(9)

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was a school teacher and farmer. He started a Bible school on Saturday afternoons,—the first in the conference. It became a Sunday School in the Franconia meetinghouse over sixty years ago. He wrote to the Lancaster brethren at the time of the Division of 1847. The Schwenkfelder Historical Library, Pennsburg, Pa., has their reply (addressed to Nice and which condemns J. H. Oberholtzer's *Constitution*), signed by six men, several of them bishops.

29 John Krupp (1779-1842) was ordained a preacher of the Plain Meeting about 1816. James Y. Heckler: *History of Lower Salford Township,* Harleysville, Pa. 1888, p. 311 refers to him as "the eminent Mennonite Minister."

30 1798-1875; ordained minister for the Plain congregation in 1838, and bishop in 1843. He baptized John F. Funk.

31 1778-1866; ordained to the ministry at the Line Lexington Meeting in 1809 or 1810. See John F. Funk: *Biographical Sketch of Pre. John Geil,* Elkhart, Ind., 1897.

32 1795-1879; ordained in 1840 at the Rockhill meeting. Unable to do more than "give a testimony" for a few minutes (though a well-liked man) he soon asked for help. In 1843 Abraham Fretz (who had been excluded from the lot in 1840) was ordained to serve the Rockhill congregation as preacher.

33 1808-1895; ordained for the Franconia meeting in 1847.

34 Josiah S. Clemmer, (1827-1905), was ordained preacher in 1860 and bishop in 1867. He was a beloved and influential leader. It is claimed that he took texts from the Old Testament Apocrypha. When he preached, it is said, he had his sermon outline mentally imposed on parts of the building—as doors and windows.

35 Henry Hackman (1817-1884) was ordained deacon in 1861.

36 Abraham M. Clemmer (1793-1879) was ordained deacon in 1839.

37 Bishop A. G. Clemmer, who also has personally examined the Alms book, definitely knows that Henry Musselman was a layman. (There are a number of signatures of men not known to have been ordained); this was the last layman to sign the audits.

38 1836-1912; ordained preacher in 1883.

39 Jacob A. Freed (1851-1929) was ordained deacon in 1884.

40 1867-; ordained preacher, 1904, and bishop, 1913.

41 1867-; ordained preacher, 1911.

42 1834-1918; ordained deacon 1879.

43 1857-1933; ordained deacon 1914.

48.	Menno B. Souder[44]	1915-
49.	Irwin C. Kulp[45]	1926-
50.	Vincent K. Bergey[46]	1934-

The relation of the Alms-fund to the several congregations is not clear. By reading the audits from 1767 until 1840 one receives the impression that it was a single fund. If this fund belonged to the Franconia meeting why did ministers and deacons of other congregations sign the audits? The treasury usually contained £ 100 or more after 1812. In 1834 the fund amounted to £ 101, 7s. and 6d; in 1836, $91.17; but in 1839 the treasurer[46a] had $284.47. On March 20, 1841 the Alms fund was transferred to Deacon Abraham Clemmer (of Franconia). On May 21, 1842 Clemmer had a fund of $341.42. The fund then remained around $300.00 or $400.00 for a good many years. So it does not seem correct to say (as some have stated) that in 1841 the fund was distributed among the several congregations in the district. Yet, if it once had been a common fund[46b] when was it divided among the several congregations?

So far all seems clear. But on April 13, 1841 (Bishop) Jacob Gottschall (of Franconia) and (Preacher) Johannes Kropp (of Plain) audited the funds of the deacons of the following congregations: Rockhill, Lexington, Salford, and Plain. These men possessed sums as follows:

Johannes Detweiler (Rockhill)	$122.14
Abraham Lapp (Lexington)	21.57½
Johannes Lederach (Salford)	87.65
Huperd Kassel (Plain)	176.53

So although the Franconia fund seemed fairly constant, here we have four other funds totaling over four hundred dollars.

Then again, although the Franconia fund again continued to be constant for many years, on May 4, 1848 Jacob Kulp, Johannes Geil and Johannes Berge audited the funds of Abraham Clemmer, Johannes Lederach, Abraham Lapp and Henrich Minniginger.[47] These men represented the Franconia, Salford, Lexington and Plain[48] congregations. From the next audit (1850) until the pres-

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44 1892-; ordained preacher 1914.

45 1883-; ordained deacon 1926.

46 1884-; ordained deacon 1934.

46a Deacon Jacob Freed of the Franconia congregation who was treasurer from 1811 until 1841.

46b This will be demonstrated below.

47 This is meant to be Mininger. But in the Pennsylvania-German dialect the name is even today often pronounced Min-ich-ing-er. This was an early attempt at phonetic spelling!

48 Huperd Cassel died in 1847 and was succeeded as deacon by Henry Mininger.

ent time the alms book deals only with the fund of the Franconia congregation.

Ignoring the deacons from congregations other than Franconia, the treasurers from the beginning of the Alms book until the present are:

A	1.	Christian Meyer	(1756)-1784
A	2.	Henrich Rosenberger	1784-1807
A	3.	Johannes Berge	1807-1811
A	4.	Jacob Fried	1811-1841
A	5.	Abraham Clemmer	1841-1868
A	6.	Henrich Hackman	1868-1881
A	7.	Abraham Clemmer	1881-1913
A	8.	Jacob A. Fried	1913-1924
A	9.	Hiram D. Clemmer	1924-1932
A	10.	Irwin C. Kulp	1932-(1936)

Deacon Kulp is still serving. With the exception of the first three all the others were deacons of the Franconia congregations and have legible grave-stones in the burying-ground adjoining the meetinghouse.[49] Johannes Bergey was a preacher at Franconia,—unless there was more than one official by that name. No deacon John Bergey is known. Henrich Rosenberger was a deacon at Franconia. Christian Funk[50] calls Christian Meyer a "bestäter Aeltester." Perhaps Meyer was a Bishop-deacon. No such office is known in the Franconia Conference today. But Elihu Clemmer (born in 1842, son of Deacon Abraham M. Clemmer, and father of Bishop A. G. Clemmer) is of the opinion that several generations ago a deacon was sometimes bestätet.[51]

For reference purposes I have made a complete alphabetical list of the signers of the audit, including the treasurers mentioned in 1841 and 1848. The latter are in parentheses. Each name has the reference number used in the chronological list.

Bechtel, Samuel	2	
Benner, Johannes	26	
Berge, Johannes	14	A3
Bergey Vincent K.	50	
Birki, Johannes	13	
Clemmer, Abraham	40	A5
Clemmer, Abraham D.	46	A7

49 A transcript of the stones legible in 1929 was published in *The Perkiomen Region,* Pennsburg, Pa., Vol. VIII No. 3 & 4, pp. 87-141.

50 *Spiegel,* p. 6.

51 "Confirmed,"—The technical term for the ordination of a bishop. A minister is *erwählt,*—"chosen".

Clemmer, Abraham G.	44	
Clemmer, Hiram D.	47	A9
Clemmer, Josia	38	
Clemens, Jacob	5	
Derstine, Abraham Z.	45	
Detweiler, Jacob	36	
(Detweiler, Johannes 1841)		
Dirstein, Michael	4	
Dirstine, Isaac	16	
Freed, Jacob A.	43	A8
Fretz, Mark	15	
Fried, Abraham	31	
Fried, Jacob	24	A4
Fried, Johannes	29	
Friedt, Joseph	25	
Funk, Christian	1	
Funk, Jacob	3	
Gehman, Abraham	7	
Gehman, Samuel	20	
Geil, Johannes	35	
Gottschall, Jacob	23	
Hakman, Henrich	39	A6
Halteman, Christian	18	
Jansen, Johannes	8	
(Kassel, Huperd 1841)		
Kolb, Henrich	22	
Kolb, Jacob	21	
Kropp, Johannes	33	
Kulp, Irwin C.	49	A10
Kulp, Jacob	34	
Landes, Abraham	11	
Landes, Jacob P.	37	
(Lapp, Abraham 1841, 1848)		
(Leterach, Johannes 1841, 1848)	30	
Meyer, Christian		A1
(Minginger, Henrich 1848)		
Moyer, Michael R.	42	
Musselman, Henrich	41	
Neiss, Abraham	28	
Neiss, Henrich	32	
Neiss, Philip	27	
Oberholtzer, Jacob	10	
Rosenberger, Henrich	9	A2

Ruth, David	19
Sauter, Henrich	6
Schwartz, Christian	17
Souder, Menno B.	48
Weyerman, Johannes	12

The contents of the Franconia Alms Book fall into four heads: Receipts, disbursements, financial notes, and audits.

As to the receipts the usual custom was to mark down the date, write: "Ist eingelegt worden," and then record the sum. But sometimes the name of a congregation is mentioned. From this it would appear that Christian Meyer, (the Franconia treasurer) was, in 1776, actually receiving the offerings received in other congregations of the district. Several selected examples follow:

"1776 am 27 den Januarius hab ich Empfangen von Michel Diersten[52]	0-10-4
"1776 am 28 den Julius ist ein gelegt	0- 0-8
"hab ich Empfangen von Johannes Weierman[53] die sum	0- 2-9
"1784 den 5 sebdem[54] ist Eingelegt worden ans bechtels[55]	0-18-2
"den 16 ist Eingelegt worden aufs (?) der blen[56]	0- 1-2
"den 26 wieder bei uns[57]	0- 2-6
"den 30 wieder ans glemensen[58]	0- 0-9
"den 23 Mertz 1800 hab ich Empfangen von Samuel geman[59] die sum von finfs pund geld welches sein Vatter Abraham Gehman[59] ihns[60] Almosen ver macht hat	5- 0-0
"Abril den 5 (1805) ist Eingelegt worden ans gemans[61]	3- 0-2
(1807) ". . . an dess Rosenbergers versamlung[62]. . . .	
"Ano 1807 den 17 Mey Ist ein gelegt an dess Samuel Gehman[63] Versamlung haus ins almosen	2- 0-4"

But more interesting are the expenditures. I have selected a few which are of historical value, or for their human touch. Wine (for communion) is frequently mentioned:

52 the Rockhill deacon

53 the Plain deacon

54 September

55 It has been conjectured that Rockhill was called Bechtels for Samuel Bechtel preached there and was buried there in 1802.

56 The Plain congregation,—the meetinghouse stands on a level tract of country.

57 The Indian Field congregation (Franconia).

58 The Clemens' meetinghouse was Salford.

59 A Rockhill minister.

60 ins

61 Rockhill was called Gehmans until recently.

62 Franconia seems also to have been called Rosenberger's (probably after deacon Henry Rosenberger). Christian Funk says (on page 49 of his *Spiegel*) that the reconciliation was announced at Indian Field the second Sunday after it was made. When he reviews the story (on page 41) he calls it "Rosenbergers."

63 A good example of how some meetinghouses received their names.

"1771 am 26 Aberel habe ich auss geben vor Weinn die sum von 0-10-0
"den 20 Abrill 1785 hab ich bezahlt vor Eine bibel Vor das
Ver samlunghaus ans bächtels 1- 8-0"

Though I had always believed that "Bechtels" was Rockhill, I recently copied the following inscription on a fly-leaf of the 1776 *Saur* Bible on the pulpit of the Franconia meetinghouse:

"Diesse Biblia oder Heilige Schrift Gehört zu der Menonisten Gemeinde in Francony Tounschip in Montgomery County *1785*"

If Rockhill was called "Bechtels", both the Franconia and Rockhill meetings must have purchased Bibles the same year. (Most of the churches of the Franconia District have *Saur* Bibles in which the name of the congregation is written in a number of places by Christopher Saur, Jr.). The Rockhill Bible has this simple inscription over Genesis 1:1:

"Diesse Biblia Gehört zu der Menonisten gemeinde in Rockhill Townschip in Bucks County Bey Samuel Bächtel und Abraham Gehman."

Perhaps the Rockhill Bible was purchased just prior to the purchase of Franconia copy, for under date of October, 1784 one reads:

"Den 27 hab ich wieder bezahlt[64] Vor Eine bibel Die sum von 1-10-0"

The meeting had occasion to employ John Swartley to chop wood:

"1785 den 24 Decemb hab ich bezalt dem Hanes Schwerdtle Vor Einen Tag holtz zu haken beim Versamlung haus."

Naturally the main expenditures were for charity. There was one Isaac Gross who was cared for by the church for many years. The Alms book records item after item which was intended for Isaac Gross. Besides paying various people for keeping Gross for one year the treasurer was constantly buying various articles of clothing, —all the way from shoes to cravats.

"1776 am 23 den feberuarius ist auss geben Vor Isaac Kross vor ein pahr schuh 0- 9-0
"1776 am 30 den Julius Vor Ein parr hossen Vor Isaak gross 0- 6-0
und ein hempt[64a] 0- 7-3
"1771 am 7 den Mertz habe ich auss geben Vor ein pahr strimpf[64b] 0- 5-0
"Weiders habe ich auss geben Vor Duch Vor ein hempt 0- 7-6
"Weider Vor Duch zu hossen zu machen und Knepf[64c] 0- 5-4

[64] Evidently the 1784 purchase was the second Bible bought; it is recorded on page 31 (my own pagination): the 1785 purchase would thus be the third Bible bought; (it is recorded on page 34).

[64a] a shirt

[64b] hose

[64c] buttons

"1772 am 19 Julius Vor Isaac gross vor ein hemp die summ von 0- 7-6
"merr ist vor 2 iarth tuch Vor lange hossen[65] zu machen 0- 4-10
"1774 am 28 den Noveper hatt Isaac Kross ein parr Lange hossen ist 0- 5-6
"1798 den 31 Ocdober . . . mehr zur sälben zeid Vor Ein huth[65a] Ein Doller 0- 7-6
"1814 bezald an Jacob Landes Vor den Isaac gros ein iar zu halden 3-15-0
"1816 bezalt vor Duch vor den Isaac Gross Vor Ein Rock[65b] und brustlagen[66] 2- 0-9
"bezald an Johannes Schwerdle Vor ein balbier messer[67] Vor-den Isaac Gross 0- 7-6
"bezald an Johannes Schwerdle vor hossen[68] und hals dug."[69]

It would be most interesting to know who Isaac Gross was. Might he have been the school teacher, perhaps then retired, for the Mennonites of Franconia township?

It has already been mentioned that the treasurer loaned out money to those in need. The following extract was evidently written by the deacon and signed by the one who borrowed the money.

"Den 3 Decemb 1787 hab ich dem geret schrager zwei punt gelt gelenth aus dem Almosen Welches Er mith Eigner hand under schrieben hat. gerhard schrager"

The audits were usually brief. But the first one here given is rather lengthy, perhaps because of the condition of the treasury and the fact that the treasurer dealt both with "good" money and with Continental currency.

"1779 Dato den 11 ten November hat Gristian Mayer sein Rechnung gethan von der auss gab und Ein nahm von dem Almossen geld in der gemeinde welche stehet und ist wie follget Erstlich bleibt die alte schuld von 99 pfund und 16 schilling und 2 bens stehen und wass sint selben Rechnung ist die auss gab mehr als die Ein Nahm und die gemeint bleibt Ihm schuldig an gut gelt 18 schl: 2 bens und 30 pfund 16 schl. 11 bens Contunantre geld so geschehen in bey sein"
"1789 Den 6 ten September ist die Rechenung von Henrich Rossenberger gethan von dem gemeinen Almossen geld, und bleibt da noch in Seiner hand die Sum von 124 pfund 5 schilling und 6 bens So geschähen in unsser gegenwart."

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65 The Mennonite pioneers had worn knee-breeches. Some conservative ministers clung to the old form after long trousers had generally been adopted.

65a a hat

65b a coat

66 a vest

67 a razor

68 trousers

69 a cravat; some old people still remember the old "Hals-tuch." The shirt-collar was not turned down, and the cravat consisted of a black (or other colored) cloth worn about the neck.

"february am: 8 ten 1801 Hat Henrich Rosenberger die Rechnung gethan Von dem almosen gelt bleibt in Seiner Hand die sum Von fier und achzig pfund fünf schilling und drey bens in gegen wart als zeugen"
"mertz am 20 t 1841 Hat Jacob fried seine Rechnung gethan Vom Almosen gelt, bleibt in seiner Hand die Sum von $285 und 52 Sent."

On April 13, 1841 an audit with exactly the same wording as the last one given is recorded for Johannes Detweiler, Abraham Lapp, Johannes Lederach, and Huperd Kassel.

"July Den 25 ten 1874 Hat Henrich Hakman Rechnung gethan Vom Almosen gält Es bleibt in Seiner Hand die Sum Von neun und Sechzich Thaler und Trey und Treisich Sent."
"April den 22, 1899 Hat Abraham Clemmer Rechnung Gethan Vom Almosen geldt, Es Bleibt in Seiner hand die Sum von Fünf hundert u zehn thaler u Vür u Sechzig zent."
"May den 21, 1924 Hat Jacob A. Fried Rechnung getahn Vom Almosen Es bleibt in seiner hand die sum Von 1017.94"
"June 12, 1935 This day Irwin C. Kulp submitted the foregoing accounts of alms and there remains a balance of $2,667.65
We, the undersigned have this day, June 12, 1935 examined and found the above accounts to be correct to the best of our knowledge."

Several problems were already raised in discussing the contents of the book. It is quite clear that the offerings of a number of congregations in the bishop district were received by a common treasurer at one time. As late as 1848 there was an audit of the accounts of several deacons. Just what arrangement did obtain a century and a half ago? Perhaps the system was rather indefinite and as the several congregations became more and more independent the old common treasury was gradually neglected.

Why did not more ministers and deacons make an effort to be present at the audits and also sign them? Not even all the officials of the Franconia congregation signed. For example there was a Preacher John C. Oberholtzer (1780-1865), who never signed.[70]

And, as with the alms book of the Skippack congregations, there is no way to distinguish preachers and deacons. Further, some laymen also signed occasionally.

Nevertheless the Franconia Alms book is of great value for research in local Mennonite history. I have selected mere fragments from the immense amount of material which the book contains. In view of the unique value of the book it would be highly advisable to store it in a fire-proof vault, and it is to be hoped that the officers of the congregation will soon take steps to this end.

[70] His ministry may have been of short duration, as he was silenced for intemperance.

DUTCH BACKGROUNDS OF MENNONITE MIGRATION OF THE 16th CENTURY TO PRUSSIA*

BENJ. H. UNRUH

Permit me to say a few words about this subject. Investigations in this field are still in progress, so that the final word cannot be said in this interesting but difficult question. Perhaps I can interest my listeners in the subject, or still better, win the assistance of Frisian and West Prussian congregations in clearing up the complicated problems connected with research in this field.

The origin of the Prussian Mennonites is also the origin of the German Russian Mennonites. With us in Russia the question of our origin was raised during the World War in connection with the measures of expropriation enforced against the German colonists and has since then remained a live question. We regret that this theme, which can be solved only on a scientific basis, has been made a political question by Mennonites, non-Mennonites and governments. The Mennonites within and without Russia are German and will always remain German. The deep emotion aroused by the discussion of this question threatens our solidarity and the unity of our work in life, in the school and in the church. Therefore the question must be faced and if possible solved. Guesses and fancies are of no value, only facts and their thorough illumination have validity. The historical sources are meager; it is therefore necessary to consider and evaluate those we find the more conscientiously.

Lately this subject has been discussed in a very lively manner in the "Bote" and in the "Mennonitische Rundschau." Recently a book by H. H. Schroeder appeared, which I discussed in "Mennonitische Blätter" and the "Bote." I welcome this writing and consider its main conclusion to be correct. Every attempt at research and cooperation in this field gives me great pleasure.

We must be interested in a clear statement of the question. It is generally recognized that most of the Prussian Mennonites came from the territory of Holland and Low Germany. Only a small proportion come from upper Germany and Switzerland.

But various questions arise in this connection: Can it be ascertained whether emigrants from the provinces which today belong to

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The Netherlands and Belgium went directly to Prussia? Can we know whether other Mennonite colonies which we find in both parts of Prussia came from East Friesland and the neighboring low German territory? Can the relative size of the two groups be ascertained? Can it be decided whether the original refugees who settled in Prussia belonged to the two groups; i. e., were families or persons who remained in the Dutch provinces a shorter or longer period of time?

The last question puts us immediately into the involved and confused Mennonite emigrations in the sixteenth century, of which we have at the present time no systematic and exhaustive survey. Perhaps there can be none on account of the scarcity of sources. In that case we would have to give up the hope of a solution of this last question. At the present stage of research it is not possible to solve it. But we must keep it continually in mind and register every new fact that can lead us toward solution. The other questions are probably easier. How must investigation in the details be undertaken?

First of all a general historical orientation is necessary in order to determine as exactly as possible the historic-geographic outlines in which must be sought the ancestral home of the majority of Prussian Mennonites as well as the Russian Germans. Here we must have in mind the Germanic tribes which formed states in the Low-German and Dutch regions; the Middle and Lower Franks (the kingdom of the Franks), the Lower Saxons and especially the Frisians.

The kingdom of the Franks organized the Saxons and Frisians into the common system of earldoms. Particularly important for us is the seat of the Frisians. (The name Friesland does not always mean the same territory. I shall discuss that later.) They occupied the regions on the coast of the North Sea, the Frisian strips of land in The Netherlands, East Friesland, Oldenburg, Schleswig-Holstein (the Eiderstedt country) as far as Jutland, and in the West as far as Bruges. In 1610 Jakob Sachs of Eiderstedt described the Frisians of the territory with their "peculiar" (unusual) speech and costume. We know that Anabaptists lived here. Not until late in the Middle Ages were the Frisians made subject to the Danes; they remained along the Eider after their subjugation. Their language (also called the Anglo-frisian)—really a language, not merely a dialect—was gradually forced down to the level of a peasant speech by the advance of the Dutch (Lower Frankish) and Low German (Lower Saxon). This language was not of great importance to our Anabaptist forefathers; more important was the Dutch, which in the sixteenth century was of significance as the language of literature as

well as commerce from Danzig to Livonia, and the Low German, ("Oostersche") of which Menno had a good command both in speaking and writing. Menno Simons and the two Philipps brothers of course, as good Frisians, spoke their mother tongue. Menno was particularly gifted as a speaker. In the region of Groningen (Middle Friesland) the Frisian language gave way to the Low German relatively early, likewise in East Friesland.

Toward the end of the eleventh century the Dutch earls from the original Holland subjugated the Frisian territories called West Friesland (a small part of North Holland is still called "West Friesland"). The West Frisians sought in vain to regain their independence.

East Friesland remained "Free Friesland" (*Frisia libera*), and preserved its own government. Furthermore Middle Friesland (the territory of Groningen) and the real Friesland were not incorporated into the Burgundian-Hapsburg rule before the first half of the sixteenth century, during Menno's life. William of Orange then after Menno's death forged the present-day Holland. East Friesland remained outside this confederation until the Napoleonic era when it was added to Holland for a few years.

H. H. Schröder represents quite correctly the view that the Anabaptist movement of the Netherlands had its origin in the Frisian territories. To them belonged also the so-called "Waterland" in North Holland. The Swiss historian, *Ottius,* in his *Annales Anabaptisti,* placed the Frisian territories in the foreground of the Anabaptist movement. He says that Menno filled with his Anabaptist doctrines the "Triple-Friesland" (Fresiam Leovardensem, Groningensem et Embdanam) and then (postea) Westphalia, Geldern, Holland proper, and Brabant; Menno's kingdom reached from the coast of Flanders to Danzig (ab extremis Flandrise oris Danziscum usque).

Also *Dr. Theol.* Horst Quiring (not to be confused with *Dr. Phil.* Walter Quiring), who worked through the Mennonite archives at Amsterdam for his proposed history of the West Prussian Mennonites takes the view, entirely independent of Schröder, that the Mennonites who immigrated to Prussia were mostly Frisian. The first proof for this is geographic-historic. Dr. Bruno Schumacher likewise in his well-known work emphasizes the fact that most of the Anabaptists came to Prussia from the northern, not the southern provinces of The Netherlands.

In order to promote investigations in this field further, I have chosen as my starting point East Friesland, where the Anabaptist movement formed its first high wave through *Melchior Hofmann*

and through *refugees,* and from whence the Anabaptist movement of the Netherlands was organized.

Benninga as well as Ubbo Emmius name the year 1528 as the beginning of East Frisian Anabaptism (in which the boundaries between East Friesland and Groningen, between Groningen and the real Friesland where Witmarsum lies, are not to be drawn too sharply). Benninga considered Anabaptism as an exclusively East Frisian product, without influences from the outside. This view is of course untenable, as is also the opposite view, that the East Frisian Mennonites were composed only of refugees. We must consider the Anabaptist movement in its origin, as closely connected with the Reformation movement in general, and as particularly closely connected with the various oppressions by the Reformation leaders of all shades.

We shall deal first with the *refugees* in East Friesland. As in the territory of Philip the Generous of Hesse and Albrecht of Brandenburg, a mild government ruled also in East Friesland in matters of church policies, and so this earldom became the place of refuge for all the "innovators." Emmius proves that the refugees came from the neighboring territories (*vicinae provinciae*). Benninga calls East Friesland "de Herberg van Gods verdrukte en verdrevene Gemeente." In Emden there was occasionally a shortage of dwellings due to the throngs of refugees. Thus East Friesland became a basin in which persons with "Reformation zeal" collected.

Among the "neighboring provinces" alluded to by Emmius are to be understood in the first place the districts of the Netherlands where Charles V already in 1521-22 had issued his edicts against the Reformers who at that time were all indiscriminately called "Lutherans." The first exodus of refugees took place upon the beginning of executions in 1525. A small part of the converts of the Reformation, called "sacramentarians" or Reformed, among whom there may have been a sprinkling of Anabaptists (it is a moot question) fled to the Earldom of Prussia from "Prussian Holland." Schumacher gives the best information about this group. It is very probable that these settlers came directly to "Prussian Holland," not by way of East Friesland. I have gone further in this matter and arrived at some interesting results.

The actual goal of the original refugees was Friesland, Groningen, and above all East Friesland. This was proved by Blaupot ten Cate and Dr. Müller, particularly the latter. The former also demonstrated that refugees came to East Friesland not only from Flanders, Holland (Provinces of South-and North-Holland), but also from Germany, as Jacob H. Janzen has also shown. Ottius

mentions that already in 1525 "many" Anabaptists fled from Germany and Switzerland to Westphalia, to Holland proper, and to East Friesland. Schaghen reports from the "Martyrs' Mirror" the information that "many German Anabaptists" had come to the territories of The Netherlands. I have also found some very interesting material scattered through the "Doopsgezinde Bydragen," which I shall present at some future time. An article in the 1862 volume, entitled "De Baptisten in England" emphasizes that there were in many churches of the Netherlands "een groot gedeelte der leden (Glieder) uit Deitschland afkomstig" (A large portion of the members were of German origin.) The church in Nimwegen had many German Anabaptist members in the sixteenth century. Kornelius van Huizen, preacher in Emden, believed that the Anabaptists came from ("abstammten") Brabant and Flanders, as well as from Alsace and Switzerland, and that this could be proved by the family names. A great pity that he did not do it! We would have a great deal less difficulty with many phases of the problem.

So much is obvious: The Anabaptists in the southern provinces of the Netherlands had to flee from persecution very early. Ottius is of the opinion that if God had not prevented it, all East Friesland would have become Anabaptist. Many an Anabaptist fled to the German coast cities (for example the Flemish congregation in Hamburg-Altona) and to England. The main stream however poured into East Friesland. Swiss, High German, and Rhenish Anabaptists were also attracted thither. Who could forbid the crossing back and forth over the borders? Blaupot ten Cate speaks of the continuous change of residence on the part of the Anabaptists. The exchange between Groningen and East Friesland he compares for illustration with the ebb and flow of the tide. A certain Jan Gerrits (Görtz), born in Emden, 1560, was a minister first in Oppingadam (Groningen territory), then in Haarlem, then in Danzig, and was also occasionally an itinerant minister. This is evidence of the close unity of the Anabaptists, as Ottius indeed says, "ab extremis Flandria oris Dantiscum usque."

When Melchior Hoffmann came to East Friesland the soil was perfectly prepared for him by all these refugees. We dare not overlook these wanderers in the discussion of this question of origins. They came from everywhere. Investigation into names and families will some day throw light on these migrations. Without question however, many, though not all, of these refugees were of Frisian origin, also many from the province North Holland. Schröder is correct in this, but he should not lose sight of the addition of other streams of refugees, Dutch in the narrower sense, German, Swiss.

With Hoffmann, who had a large following, so large that on one day he baptized 300 persons in Emden, a strong Anabaptist movement began in East Friesland. Many families in the "Triple Friesland" (Frisia Triplex) joined the movement. The edicts of the government of Groningen for instance always mention "immigrants and natives." Professor De Hoop Scheffer states expressly in his excellent article on the Friesian-Flemish schism, that in the four cities which are primarily concerned (Franeker, Harlingen, etc.) the immigrants were only a small fraction in comparison with the native Anabaptists.

Such facts must be observed; and if they are observed it becomes clear that the chief center of the Anabaptist movement is to be found in the Frisian territories.

And what about the immigration to Prussia? It arose likewise chiefly from these Frisian territories and particularly from East Frisian Emden.

I shall now enter further into this question. Here I make a distinction between the "real" Mennonites, that is those who were followers of Menno Simons, and the earlier Anabaptists who had come to the Weichsel and Nogat regions before the real Mennonites, but were later aligned with evangelical Mennonitism, partly through Menno Simons, who had come to Danzig, Elbing, Graudenz and Thorn before 1549.

I am in a position to prove that the first Mennonites came to Prussia in the 5th decade of the sixteenth century, not later than 1547. Let me briefly mention a few things here. The entire body of material must be discussed in greater detail at a later date. I may say that it is very interesting.

The Groningen edict of August 31, 1543 caused Menno to flee to Emden in East Friesland. Since Emperor Charles V demanded energetic measures of Countess Anna and the Council of Emden in East Friesland against the Anabaptists, Menno left East Friesland and went to Cologne. From there he later went eastward to Danzig and Graudenz, as already mentioned. Simultaneously with Menno also many of his followers fled to the same regions where Menno went, in part to Oldenburg and the Holstein region, but also to Danzig, Elbing and Graudenz.

We have documentary evidence for this. My friend and former fellow-student Dr. Cornelius Bergmann, found many years ago in the Danzig Archive, a land contract of the year 1547 which I have examined closely. Schumacher was not acquainted with this document, though Szper probably was, though she failed to give it the attention it deserved. I cannot discuss this contract in greater detail

here. Only this: The Friesian, Philipp Edzemar, promises the Danzig Council to bring people of his own nationality to Reichenberg near Danzig. In 1563 we find in Reichenberg the name of a settler "Peter Albrecht," a good Mennonite name (Szper, p. 46). The clause in the contract concerning religion is very interesting, clear enough, though reserved in its wording.

We can prove by other means that there were Mennonites in Danzig already about 1550. In 1582 the "Mennonisten" at Danzig made a very dignified and energetic appeal to the city council, in which they objected to the treatment they had received contrary to their concession. They said that they had lived there for thirty years (a round number), they had always openly confessed their religion, they were not Münsterites, they would never have taken the land if they had had to reckon with such treatment. The contract which they had concluded openly thirty years ago corresponds obviously with the wording of the Reichenberg contract.

It can be further demonstrated that the settlements at Elbing and Graudenz arose about the same time (at Graudenz as far as the "Moravians," i. e. Upper German elements are concerned, even earlier), hence immediately following Menno's flight from East Friesland. Somewhat later he visited and took care of his followers in Prussia, drawing into the organized church life some immigrant Anabaptists and perhaps winning some from among the "Reformed." In 1549 he wrote to these churches a pastoral letter which is still preserved.

It is certainly no accident that the above named settlements in Prussia arose at a time when, according to Blaupot ten Cate, darkest clouds were gathering over the Anabaptists in East Friesland.

In the church at Orlofferfelde in the "Grosse Marienburger Werder" a very valuable church chronicle has been preserved. According to it the settlement on this island began in 1562. The family names of these Mennonites are identical with those which have been preserved in the East Frisian "Hebungslisten" which Mr. H. H. Schröder published in the "Bote" (beginning No. 26, 1935) and in other lists upon which I happened to come in my investigations. It is very significant that the names coincide not only in individual instances, but also in the whole pattern, and particularly for East Friesland and Groningen, not so conspicuously for Friesland proper, to say nothing of other Netherland districts. Here relationships appear that simply dare not to be overlooked. I discovered them independent of Mr. Schröder, but he called many things to my attention which he found first. Dr. Quiring's criticism of Schröder's book reminds Mr. Schröder and the rest of us that we must concern our-

selves with real proof, which we want to do; however we must remember that the work of one in this field, that of the other in that field assures progress in finding the proofs. Dr. Quiring's dissertation about the Chortitzer dialect will also be of great benefit, as well as his other articles on language problems.

At the time of the Dutch struggle for independence the Frisian and particularly the East Frisian Mennonites found themselves in great difficulties. Alba defeated Louis of Nassau, the brother of William of Orange, at Jemgum; a defeat which caused such consternation among all the "innovators," (Protestants) including of course the Mennonites, that they fled. For this we have documentary evidence which must be considered in this particular question. In the order of Edward II, of August 6, 1568, against the Mennonites, it is expressly stated that they had fled for the most part, but that all must flee and their property be confiscated, if they were not prepared to submit like all other citizens did.

On the other hand we know, as is emphasized by Szper, that the great number of refugees who fled from the Dutch-Low German region to Prussia from 1567 on, was composed preponderantly of Mennonites. The name "Mennonite," which was official in East Friesland as early as 1544, became official likewise in Prussia from 1572 on. This fact is also evidence of the above statement and points particularly to East Friesland. In the petition to the council of Danzig of 1582 the petitioners called themselves "Mennonisten," and rejected the term "Anabaptists" as a name of derision. It seems as if the Mennonites at the time of this petition were already crowding out or absorbing the "Reformed" as well as the Anabaptists of less pure origin, who were gradually incorporated through the pastoral work of Menno Simons and Dirk Philipps as "purified" members into this oldest of free evangelical churches.

Under Edward II the Mennonites in East Friesland were harassed; hence their emigration in the end of the 1560's. The earldom was closed to further Mennonite immigrations for a long time. Thus in February, 1578, Emden was expecting 1,000 Anabaptists from the United Netherlands. Edward refused to permit them to enter and ordered them to return home at once. Furthermore, due to the greater leniency of the age inaugurated by the House of Orange in the United Netherlands, a return immigration thither set in, so that a streaming away to the East was no longer necessary. Is this not the cause that the immigration of Mennonites as a mass movement from East Friesland to Prussia came to an end? Does not this event also prove that the source of the emigration with which we are concerned, was primarily East Friesland, although the refugees who

had earlier come into this region of "Frisia triplex," especially into Groningen and Friesland, also furnished elements from other Dutch territories and Belgium, and even from purely German territories.

I can furnish one more decisive proof for my thesis. The guilds of Danzig on Aug. 4, 1578 petitioned the Danzig city council to refuse to admit any more Mennonites "who come hither from Friesland and Emden." By "Friesland" is meant "Frisia triplex," primarily East and Middle Friesland, hence the special mention of Emden.

In order to develop fully the main thesis of this address, it would be necessary to investigate in detail the names of the settlers involved in these migrations. Schröder's contribution lies just in this field, but there is still much to be done. In addition it will be necessary to pay special attention to the linguistic aspects of the problem.

RESEARCH NOTES

Dr. Erich Petschauer, *Die Auslanddeutschen Zeitschriften und Vereinsblaetter in Europa* [1919-1932], Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwuerde der Hohen Philosophischen Fakultaet der Universitaet Leipzig, 1935 (Druckerei und Verlags A. G. Novisad (Neusatz), Jugoslawien, 1933).

This is a Ph. D. dissertation approved by the University of Leipzig, Germany, in May 1935 but completed in 1933. During his study the author, a German Yugoslavian, was associated with the *Institut fuer Auslandkunde, Grenz-und Auslanddeutschtum* in Leipzig. This association in connection with the similarly respected *Deutsche Buecherei* in Leipzig and the Institute of Journalism of the University gave Dr. Petschauer extraordinary opportunities to do the good job which he has done.

In an elaborate bibliographical appendix (pp. 84-116) he presents a careful collection and description of 285 items of German language periodicals in: A. The Baltic and Slavic Cultural Group; B. The Romance Cultural Group; and C. The Germanic Cultural Group. Mennonitica are listed only in the first group. Dr. Petschauer registers exclusively publications produced by and within German speaking "diaspora" settlements. Austria, Danzig, Switzerland are not classified as *auslanddeutsch* but merely as *grenzlanddeutsch.* In other words, artificial state boundaries were not considered as instituting a group of "Germans abroad" where German prevails as the spoken and written language on both sides of the boundary. Consequently Austrian, Swiss, and similar German language periodicals were not accounted for in the present survey.

Under the heading Poland (Galicia and Wolhynia) reference is made to the *Mennonitisches Gemeindeblatt, Amtliches Organ der christlich mennonitischen Gemeinde Kiernica-Lemberg,* (Lwow), which settlement is of Swiss-Palatinate stock. (See Neff, Art. "Galizien", and Rupp, Art. "Kiernica", "Kleinpolen", "Lemberg" in the *Mennonitisches Lexikon;* also Peter Bachmann, *Mennoniten in Kleinpolen,* Lemberg 1934. The latter book is not easily accessible on this continent.) The before-mentioned journal developed from the *Mennonitisches Gemeindeblatt fuer Oesterreich* which was founded in 1913, discontinued in 1915-1917, and reappeared in December 1917 as "1. Kriegsnummer". After its eighth (yearly) volume, No. 32, (last number of 1920) another interruption occurred extending over two years. Up to No. 30 (eighth volume, 1920) it was issued monthly; since then it has appeared every second month. There were no issues in 1921 and 1922. There has been no regular periodicity since the third number of the ninth volume (1923 ff.). Beginning with the double number (¾), fourteenth volume (1928 ff.), the *Mennonitisches Gemeindeblatt* appeared (at least until 1932) four times a year. From December 1917 (no. 1) up to No. 32 (eighth volume) in 1920, a continuous numbering of the issues was observed. The following printers were mentioned: until 1920, "Dilo", Lemberg (Lwow); the ninth volume (1923) was printed by Eichelberger in the same city; beginning with the first issue of the tenth volume in 1924 Joh. and Carl Handel, Bielitz, are mentioned as printers. Editors were: Heinrich Pauls (founder?), Mennonite minister; Rev. Leopold Gesell

(Baptist?) beginning with No. 30, eighth volume (1920); Dr. Leopold (or should this read Peter?) Bachmann beginning with the opening issue of the fourteenth year or volume (1928).

Under the heading Russia (Moscow) one of the three non-political periodicals listed is *Der praktische Landwirt, Organ des Allrussischen Mennonitischen Landwirtschaftlichen Vereins.* Dr. Petschauer observes that the editorial qualities and organization of this journal were laudable when compared with general Russian standards. It appeared as a monthly, beginning June 1, 1925 but went out of existence in 1926. Kniznaja fabrika Centrisdata Narodov SSSR, Moscow, served as the printing office. The exact number of issues could, apparently, not be ascertained. It was backed by the "Verwaltung des Allrussischen Mennonitischen Landwirtschaftlichen Vereins" in Moscow using the motto "Einigkeit macht stark". P. F. Froese signed as editor. Sections were entitled "Unsere Korporation" (that is the Mennonite agricultural association); "Schule und Haus"; "Aus unseren Ansiedlungen". There was also a supplement ("Beilage"). Volume (Jahrgang) 2 is listed as having 140 pages. Like the two other Moscow publications of a definitely Christian character (a Seventh Day Adventist and an Evangelican-Lutheran periodical) *Der praktische Landwirt* with its obviously religious-cultural leaning became a victim of the anti-religious Sovietism. (See Benjamin H. Unruh "The background and the causes of the flight of the Mennonites from Russia in 1929", *Mennonite Quarterly Review,* October 1930 and January 1931).

Similarly the Mennonite *Christliche Monatsschrift Unser Blatt* played a lonely rôle among a few German Ukrainian journals of a distinct Communist color until it also was forced out of existence. *Unser Blatt* was issued in Grossweide. (The *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* Vol. II, 189, describes Grossweide as located in the Melitopol region, seat of an important Mennonite orphanage founded by Bernhard Harder in 1906). *Unser Blatt* was issued for the first time in October 1925 but ceased in its second volume with No. 8 (1926-27). *Unser Blatt* was the organ of the *Allgemeine Bundeskonferenz der Mennonitengemeinden* of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Cornelius Martens, Grossweide and Henrich Ediger, Schoensee, were connected with its publication. As printing office Drukarija "Rad. Step." is mentioned. There were several sections: "Liçht und Wahrheit", "Geschichtliches", "Aus den Gemeinden fuer die Gemeinden", "Aus der Gemeindearbeit", "Mancherlei Fragen und Allerlei Antworten", "Christliche Erzaehlungen", "Briefkasten" and supplements providing hymns. The second volume (Jahrgang) comprised 256 pages. *Unser Blatt* was to serve the Mennonites as "ein wiederkehrender Trostspender". The *Goshen College Record Review Supplement,* January 1926, contains a description and evaluation by H. S. Bender of the first three numbers of *Unser Blatt.* Dr. Petschauer failed to show whether or not the two Mennonite journals in Russia were in some way or other related to pre-revolutionary publication interests or traditions among the German speaking "Russian" Mennonites.

Complete files of *Der praktische Landwirt, Unser Blatt* as well as of the *Mennonitisches Gemeindeblatt* are deposited in the *Deutsche Buecherei,* Leipzig, Germany, while the "Goshen College Mennonite Historical Collections," and other American libraries, own, I believe, only broken sets if any at all. The Goshen College collection has almost a complete file of *Unser Blatt.*

Dr. Petschauer deserves the appreciation of scholars interested in serious research in the recent history of Mennonites in Eastern Europe. His findings complete, to a certain degree, the useful survey made by the editor of the *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* Christian Hege, in his articles "Deutsche Sprache unter den Mennoniten", "Deutsche Zeitschriften" (*Menn. Lexikon,* Volume I, pp. 420-422) on the status of about 1920. Since then, on this side of the Atlantic, Dr. Harold S. Bender's *Mennonitica Americana* (*Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History,* No. 1, 1929) has proved the fundamental value of an adequate presentation of bibliographical data.

The American University, Washington, D. C. Ernst Correll.